6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

is yet too young to be concerned with the past; but why no thought of the future? Again a question for further reflection.

I met some younger men, visibly Indian, who also were raised in the more traditional full-blood homes, but who are better educated than others from a similar background. They speak both languages fluently and are able interpreters. Raymond Black Plume expressed a primary goal of these men. "I want to make a life by combining what is best of the Indian way with the best from the white way." These men see themselves as representatives of the full-blood group within the council, and actively seek office. Raymond has served several terms.

He participates in Indian ceremonies and knows much of the old religion and rituals, although he himself is a Christian and an active church member. His commitment to the old beliefs is difficult to assess. Although he is more than tolerant of the old practices, and gives the impression of being a respectful non-believer, occasional statements lead me to believe that there is much in the old religion that appeals to him, and he may have assimilated some of this into his Christian practice. Raymond's father, recently dead, had been one of the "chiefs," so Raymond's knowledge of Blackfeet lore and life came directly to him in his childhood home. Beyond this, he has traveled widely and has studied and accepted much white culture from his schooling.

I met a few others like him, all of whom are interested in tribal affairs and work regularly in council or agency jobs, or as clerks, teachers or tradesmen. These people, while differing as individuals, represent another kind of full-blood Indian.

Raymond, age forty-one, is married and has four children. His frame house has four rooms and, differing from those mentioned earlier, has more furnishings, including a refrigerator and a television set. He has a recent model automobile that is kept in good condition, but shows little attention to minor details of upkeep.

The house is located near those of other members of his family along a small creek, several miles from Browning, where the family members pooled their labor to develop a stock ranch. When Raymond is serving on the council, or employed at a council or agency job, he can count on his brothers, uncles, and nephews to look after the place, while his income, which is large in terms of the reservation average, will be used to keep all the family going when they need money.

These activities also indicated that Raymond is keenly interested in the present, ongoing activities of tribe and ranch. He also likes to talk of the past—a past in which he is interested and of which he has heard much from his father. However, he has no desire to return to those days, only a wish to use what good the old culture has to offer for today. He also thinks much about the future. He has goals for the people and for himself. He intends to build up the ranch until it can support the family. "I'll be ready if termination[1] comes," he said; "I'll be able to take care of myself and family." His progress toward this end appears to be slow, but he is making headway.

Raymond said that his greatest problems arise from the jealousy of his

[1] Termination of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the special relationships between Indians and the federal government.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

The allotment acts provided that the inheritance laws of the state should govern the distribution of allotted lands upon the death of an allottee. The laws of Montana recognize disposal of property by will, and the federal government recognizes the transfer of trust title, in whole or in part, by will. In the absence of a will, state laws define the succession and the share of an estate each heir shall receive. The result of fifty years or more of practice has been an increased fragmentation of original allotments to the point where an allotment may have as many as fifty owners, or have been portioned out into a series of plots too small to serve economic ends. The B.I.A. recently estimated that about 475,000 acres of reservation trust land had multiple owners (Blackfeet Agency FY 1972 Budget and Program Memorandum). The agency is charged with the duty of keeping records of such changes in ownership, and with leasing such lands for the benefit of the owners. A lease requires acquiescence of many owners and the monies received must be credited to the accounts of all heirs. Until more people make wills, and more frequently pass undivided ownership to fewer people, the land fragmentation will continue to snowball and the work load of the agency will increase in proportion. This is the "heirship land" problem that plagues the economies of most Indian reservations where tribal lands were alloted to individual owners.

The trust status of the land makes it poor security for mortgages so it is difficult for the owner of such land to borrow money for short or long-term operating expenses and capital improvements. The inability to secure ready financing, the multiple ownership situation, plus other factors that will be introduced later, have contributed to the present economic condition of the tribal members.

In 1962 I wrote:

> On February 1960 in an area in which the predominant industries are agriculture and stock raising, it was reported [in unpublished tribal documents] that only 40 tribal members are farm operators, and of this number it is estimated that perhaps only 10 are farming sufficient acreage to be considered an economic unit. The farming family's income must be supplemented by wage work. One hundred and fifty families of tribal members are listed as ranchers, with an average of 85 head of beef cattle, or equivalent in sheep. A conservative estimate of the stock required for an economic unit is 100 head, so many of these people may also need supplemental income. It was estimated that another 27 families are self-supporting, or have received the financing which should make them self-supporting, in business, other non-agricultural enterprises, or as regularly employed wage earners.
>
> In a credit appraisal of an estimated 1,200 Blackfeet families, 700 families were listed as having poor security risks. These latter had neither the experience nor the aptitude, neither the training nor the inclination, to operate a going enterprise or meet the standards of financial responsibility set by the council for prospective clients of a Revolving Loan Fund. These figures indicate that approximately 983 families of the tribe are unable to be self-supporting and depend upon casual labor, income from the leasing of lands if they have land, tribal per-capita payments and welfare for minimum subsistence.
>
> Figures on non-Indian use of reservation land reveal the gap between Indian use and the potential of the region. Seventy-five non-Indian operators lease grazing land for stock enterprises, with an average of 5,067 acres each as compared to an average of 2,666 among the 150 Indian operators. One hundred seventy-five non-Indian farmers cultivate farms that average 560 acres each as compared to an average farm size of 200 acres for the 40 Indian farmers. The non-Indians are

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

its own shop at St. Mary. Duck Lake in the northern part of the reservation has long been famous as a fishing spot and attracted its share of travelers. But it is becoming apparent that the tourist potential has hardly been tapped. Plans are well along for a major tourist complex, with a lodge, campground, dining facilities, bar, marina, Indian tepee village and other facilities on Lower St. Mary Lake. Some camping facilities are already available and others are being planned. Such enterprises will surely produce revenues for the tribe; how many jobs will result for tribal members is another question. Concessionaires often bring their own employees in spite of efforts by the tribe to guarantee these jobs to local people.

Head Start, Community Action Planning and other ventures supported by grants from the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity continue to relieve some of the problems of the tribe; yet much needs to be done. I feel a sense of optimism about the future, but find this feeling difficult to support except for certain material signs of an improved economy—new buildings, homes, roads and services. For many people, however, the basic problem of a meaningful job and a reliable income seem as far away as ever. New industries help, but still do not provide jobs for all who need them among a growing population. Employment reports still show high unemployment and a primary dependence on firefighting and other seasonal and sporadic kinds of wage labor for jobs. Robbins's study of the Heart Butte region does little to allay these fears. He reported that only 50 percent of the cash income reported by the members of his sample came from employment, another 20 percent derived from land leased to others and 30 percent of the income for these households came from welfare funds (Robbins 1968:198). Heart Butte is not representative of the whole reservation, but may well indicate the economic conditions in the underdeveloped rural areas.

A similarly gloomy view is expressed by local people in an application for the support of a Model Cities Program:

> The lack of Employment Opportunities is basic. Year round jobs are scarce. Available opportunities in this area are mostly seasonal, thus throwing many workers into a low income bracket. This is true of Indian and non-Indian alike. Jobs that do become available are oftentimes accompanied with unrealistic requirements, i.e., setting educational levels too high, years of experience for the job too extreme, or emphasis on racial preferences.
>
> There are not enough diverse fields of interest—no technical challenges. Work categories are numbered and few. Economic resources are undeveloped to a great extent. . . . Training is limited particularly in specialized fields. . . . Poor work habits must be overcome as job and training opportunities come forth. . . . A careless attitude has built up along with the feeling of uselessness. . . .
>
> The role of the male is decaying in the home due to this feeling of uselessness. The woman has taken on an increasing role in family providing and management. The male role must be revitalized if there is to be job success. Learning skills would be an encouragement. . . .
>
> Low income is prevalent on the Reservation, particularly among Indian families. Approximately 62% of the resident Indian families have annual incomes below $3,000.00, and the mean income is $1,700.00. It has been estimated that approximately 3,000 persons receive some form of welfare financial assistance during part of each year. In the case of large families, the assistance standards are sometimes actually competitive with available earned income, since many local jobs, cowpunching for example, pay far below minimum standard wages. . . .

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

includes the majority of the white-oriented group and, in reality, is more a convenient collection of a series of gradually changing ranks than it is a single status position. The people who occupy these status positions, however, share a few general characteristics: they are (1) regularly employed, (2) committed to individual progress, (3) active participants in community affairs, and (4) they clearly support and exemplify the white-oriented values.

Individuals in this classification represent a wide range of economic and social achievement. Occupations of middle status people range from regularly employed craftsmen through clerical workers in business, agency, and council to businessmen, politicians, small farmers, and ranchers. Not all are financially independent, but all are building toward that goal. This is a characteristic that stands out in the interview materials. These people think about their future and the future of their children—they have plans for tomorrow. It shows in "Bob Sorrel Horse's dream" reported by a poor white-oriented full-blood rancher, who, by his industry may just qualify for middle status even though his annual cash income seldom exceeds $2,000:

> I have this dream to get some money and fix this place up right—a nice house and a good place. First, I'd get electricity in to pump the water. I had planned to remodel the house . . . to have a place I'm not ashamed of.

Yet while he dreams, this man acts. He cared for his small herd of thirteen head of cattle and a few horses, had a sound shelter and well-maintained corrals for the stock. The grounds around the house were uncluttered, all garbage and debris was in one pile some distance from the house. A good supply of firewood was cut and stacked near the house. A clothesline, outhouse, and small utility shed were all in good order.

The house in which six people lived was an old log structure with two rooms on the ground floor and one loft room above. It was well chinked and the old hand split shake roof was in good repair. Water was carried from a pitcher pump mounted at the well a few feet from the cabin door; there was no electricity and gas lanterns provided the light. A wood range provided the heat. The interior walls were painted, cotton curtains hung at the windows and a worn rug covered part of the linoleum floor. The home furnishings consisted of a painted washstand, wooden table, wooden chairs, a kitchen cupboard, one double and two single beds, homemade closets, a nightstand, and a high chair. Family photos, a calendar, a radio, two rifles, fishing gear, and other family possessions were to be seen. The children's bicycle, tricycles, wagon, and a stroller were stored in the shed out back. A zinc washtub hanging outside on the front wall of the cabin provided the clue to the laundry facilities. Everything was worn, clean, orderly and in good repair. This man was poor, yet he maintained what he had and dreamed of something better in the future.

At the upper end of the scale, this same concern for the future is expressed by the well-to-do rancher, quoted in the earlier chapter, who built up his ranch for the boys and was concerned that the youngest son had no future with the railroad.

Middle status people join the service clubs, farm and cattle associations

II

BACKGROUND

The Blackfeet Reservation, with headquarters in Browning, Montana, lies for the most part in Glacier County with a small portion on the south and east extending into Ponderosa County, Montana. Most of the Reservation is on the eastern side of Glacier National Park in northwest Montana adjacent to the province of Alberta, Canada. Miles of green range and farmlands fan out from the base of the Rockies to form the Reservation which covers a tract of land 52 by 58 miles (see Figures 1 and 2).

The Reservation is served by rail and air and both local and national bus lines, as well as several local and transcontinental trucking lines. A network of Federal, State and local highways provides ready access to the important markets of Great Falls, Shelby and Havre, Montana. A full range of utilities is available on the Reservation - telephones, a plentiful water supply, and natural gas from gas fields in nearby Montana and Alberta. Only the larger communities of Browning and Cut Bank have adequate sewer systems. Electricity is supplied by a cooperative electric company from power developed at the Fort Peck Dam in eastern Montana. Approximately 2,000 kilowatt hours of power are available on the western side of the Reservation with considerably more on the eastern side.

The average rainfall measures 14.4 inches per year in the Browning area and 13.8 inches in the lower and eastern parts of the Reservation. Annual snowfall is approximately 63 inches. Mean temperatures range from 19° F. above zero in January to 61° in July. Frost has been reported as late as May 19 and as early as July 16 during the last seventy years. The major part of the Reservation is subject to strong and persistent westerly winds which are usually more severe during the early spring months. Generally the climate on the Reservation is of the semiarid type. The average growing season for irrigated crops is approximately 120 days. While the economy on the Reservation revolves largely around agriculture, significant raw materials are available in and under the land surface. Oil and natural gas are found in the eastern portion of the Reservation's well known Cut Bank oil fields. The Choteau iron deposit extends from the foot of the Rockies over the western half of the Reservation. Its titanium content is approximately 12 percent and the iron content is from 30-40 percent. Coal reserves are estimated at approximately 30,000,000 short tons. Abundant recreational facilities are available for outdoor activities. The many lakes offer boating, swimming and fishing. There is big game and upland bird hunting during certain seasons of the year. The Blackfeet Tribe recognizes the value of this important tribal property with respect to its potential for future development. It represents 1,500,000 acres of gently rolling plain between 3,500 and 4,500 feet above sea level.

The population of the Blackfeet Reservation in 1960 was 4,900. Approximately 50 percent (800) of the adult males on the Reservation have been classified as skilled or semiskilled workers. An almost equal percentage of adult females, 60 percent (300), are likewise categorized. Wage rates for males in manufacturing areas have reached $2.21 per hour while female employment rates

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

comrades in every major theater of the war. They flew bombing missions over Germany, they helped man destroyers and battle-wagons, they fought with our ground forces in North Africa and on the European continent, and they took part in amphibious operations in the Pacific. They learned many new skills and found they could perform them as well as their non-Indian buddies could.

At the same time, hundreds of other Blackfoot Indians went to work in aircraft plants and shipyards on the West Coast. Their manual skills equaled and in many cases surpassed those of their non-Indian fellow war workers.

Not only did the Blackfoot Indians contribute substantially to our war effort, but in the process some of them developed talents and skills for which there was little demand on the reservation but which helped them to make a good living elsewhere. Since the war the number of Blackfeet living away from the reservation has increased. By 1950 they numbered more than one-third of the tribal population. Among them were skilled workers in manufacturing plants and in the building trades, office workers, salesmen, teachers, and nurses. There is no logical reason why the Blackfoot Indian's selection of a life's work need be limited to a choice between raising livestock or farming.

The educational level of the Blackfoot Indians has been rising in recent years. By 1950 some 125 of them possessed college degrees. One-quarter of the Blackfeet over eighteen years of age had graduated from high school. The 497 who were still unable to read or write and the 112 who could not speak English were nearly all older people of a high degree of Indian blood who were a negligible factor in the working population.[14]

In the period of national prosperity following World War II, the average family income among the Blackfoot Indians continued to rise. By 1950 it stood at $2,639, a figure exceeded among few other Indian tribes in the United States.[15] However, this

[14] *Compilation of Material Relating to the Indians of the United States and Alaska*, U. S. House of Representatives, Serial No. 30, 1950, 736.
[15] *Ibid.*, 736.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[1877-1894]

confines of a limited area, asked to follow unrewarding and unfamiliar occupations, and forbidden the one activity that assured them a place in the r society—horse-stealing. That such a radical change was accomplished without resistance was due to one fact: there were no more buffalo on these once blackened plains. Rations offered by a friendly though foreign government alone made life possible.

Much of the traditional living was destroyed. But the economic mechanisms developed in the buffalo period survived. Unlike the rebellious Sioux, the acquiescent Blood were permitted to retain their horses. To this starving people these horses remained the symbol of wealth. Exuberant property transfers for ceremonial privilege and prestige continued to dominate their life but, lacking the earlier opportunities for improving status, only those who had horses before 1877 were able to participate in ostentatious displays. The need for loyal supporters diminished. So did the need for an energetic, though poor, son-in-law. The rich preferred to bulwark their position by marrying their children to others equally favored. Social stratifications, incipient in the buffalo days, became more marked in these early years of the reserve period.

1894–1910

The new economy continued to be a desultory affair. By 1896, the population had fallen to 1400.[91] The Blood were farming 304 acres, an increase of only twenty-nine in ten years. The farms were small, but the agent proudly reported that "instead of 35 fields worked mostly by whites in 1886, there were now 84 fields worked mostly by Indians."[92] Still the old difficulties remained and new ones were added. "The depression and lack of need of Indian labor and commodities, the poor crops in the Northwest Territories made it necessary to continue relief without curtailment, in spite of increasing vigilance."[93]

The earnings for the year, although greater than they had ever been before and distributed to more individuals, fell far below the needs of the tribe:[94]

Mining coal	$380.00
Hauling coal	725.00
Freighting	1183.60
Hay sold	1400.00
Working wages	2000.00
Sundries	1821.43
Total	$7510.11

[91] 1896, Vol. 10, No. 14, p. 367.
[92] *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 326.
[93] *Ibid.*, p. xxi.
[94] *Ibid.*, p. 276.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[1894-1910]

434 311 The total income of the tribe had risen to $29,000.[104] Of this amount, one-half was derived from farm products including hay. The two were, in fact, almost synonymous, for only 51½ acres were still being cultivated.[105] The erratic subsistence farming was rapidly abandoned and the whole [463] tribe turned to providing fodder for the new herds: "Almost the only occupations beside looking after the cattle and horses are hay making and freighting coal."[106]

246 657 [434] Many factors encouraged the Blood to join in the haying experiment. First, a market existed both on and off the reservation: what the Indian herds did not need was sold to the Mounted Police or neighboring white ranchers. Second, there was no onerous cultivation. Except for a few irrigated acres, the hay that was cropped grew wild on the prairies. And finally, in a new setting, the haying camps recalled the great days of their hunting [464] past. In the late summer, the tribe again made for the open range. Any man who owned a wagon, a team of horses, and a few implements, could be sure of some income from the new industry. Those who lacked even these few basic necessities could attach themselves to wealthier men. As in the earlier time, their labor would be rewarded by some small share in the harvest. [556] Advantage still remained with the men of wealth, but participation was [184] assured at a low level, and even the poor man had a chance.

The camps also strengthened, if only temporarily, bonds of family and [571] band. The notorious Charcoal,[107] who had left his home in anger and moved [621] far off by himself, joined the haying camp, again accepted the leadership [593] of his brother and helped bring in the crop. Desire to share in the new wealth [182] overcame violent intra-familial resentment.

In 1902, one-third of the adult males on the reserve owned cattle.[108] 464 By 1909, practically every man could boast a cow. Numerous circumstances [231] contributed to the more equitable distribution of wealth during the first decade of the century. Such industries as haying, hauling, or working in the [434] beet factory were open to everyone. In 1905, beet fields were planted at Raymond,[109] and two years later the Blood earned $9000 topping beets and [316] carting them to the factory.[110] And the report continues, "One of our [472] Indians named Black Horse has a small coal mine on the banks of the St. Mary's River from which he makes his living mining and selling coal to the

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[104] *Ibid.*, Pt. 2, p. 228.

[105] *Ibid.*, Pt. 2, p. 220.

[106] *Ibid.*, Pt. 1, p. 182.

[107] Charcoal later murdered his wife's lover. He killed himself as he was about to be apprehended by the Agency police assisted by his own brothers.

[108] 1904, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 237.

[109] 1905, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 203.

[110] 1907-1908, Vol. 14, No. 27, p. 161.

433 agriculturally than the Heart Butte District, and that in general in both districts allottees or spouses of allottees with a racial heritage of one-half or less Blackfeet ancestry were without question the more prosperous farmers and ranchers and that these people held most of the few non-agricultural or salaried agricultural jobs.

414 128 Another and certainly critical topic discussed in this portion of the chapter concerns the economic determinants of the formation of farming and ranching cooperatives consisting of related or unrelated persons who shared land, equipment and labor to farm or ranch or both, and acreages shared in common. These cooperatives will be analyzed statistically in an effort to determine whether people combined their resources to maximize their resources for mutual benefit, or if such co-ops were merely fortuitous. In regard to farming and ranching co-ops, I will explore the formation of multiple-family households, ages of productive farmers and ranchers, and attempt to demonstrate the contribution some economic measures made to the family cycle of the past.

433 463

Economic Comparisons of the Two Rural Districts

Eighty per cent of the people in the Old Agency District were engaged in farming (mainly) and ranching, and 65 of the total of 82 households were involved in agricultural pursuits. Thus about 80 per cent of all households and persons were so engaged. Only about 40 per cent (34 of 84) and 44 per cent of the 396 persons recorded in the survey of the Heart Butte District households were engaged in farming.

433 The difference in the extent of farming and ranching between the two

184 177 565 people who occupy these status positions, however, share a few general characteristics: (1) they are regularly employed, (2) are committed to individual progress, (3) are active participants in community affairs, and (4) clearly support and exemplify the white-oriented values.

Individuals in this classification represent a wide range of [463] economic and social achievement. Occupations of middle status people range from regularly employed craftsmen through clerical workers in business, Agency and Council to business men, politicians, small farmers and ranchers. Not all are financially independent, but all are building toward that goal. This is a characteristic that stands out in the interview materials. These people think about their future and the future of their children--they have plans for tomorrow. It shows in the "dream" of a poor white-oriented full-blood rancher who, by his industry, may just qualify for middle status:

> I think a lot when I'm alone. I have this dream to get some money and fix this place up right--a nice house and a good place. First, I'd get electricity in to pump the water. I had planned to remodel the house--my father built this a long time ago--to have a place I'm not ashamed of.

Yet while he dreams, this man acts. He cares for his small herd of thirteen head of cattle and a few horses, keeps the home and corral areas in good order, the wood pile well stocked, and the small cabin in good repair. His dream is also a future toward which he works.

At the upper end of the scale, this same concern for the future is expressed by the well-to-do rancher, quoted on page 155 who built up his ranch for the boys and was concerned that the youngest son had no future with the railroad. A 1

Middle status people join the service clubs, farm and cattle associations, and both support and participate in community improvement

A 1 [See Category 116, p. 155--Analyst]

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

434 directly $2,000 per year to Indians on the reserve in wages for
465 various services to be described subsequently. As this amount varies little, we may assume the difference between $2,000 and the total sum estimated constitutes the approximate amount earned by Indians while working off the reserve. By this calculation we estimate that Indians earn off the reserve sums varying from zero to $4,000. This wide fluctuation is a product of such factors as the demand for workers during good agricultural years and the satisfaction of Indians with the income which they earn on the reserve.

As a rule Indians hire out to whites to assist at roundup or in threshing. The pay varies from $1 to $4 per day, and some are eager to earn this extra money. Aside from such semi-skilled services, Indian labour is used relatively little off the reserve in normal times. Among the seven incomes from 1940-1[1] only one man worked off the reserve; he made $20 during harvest time as a field hand.

464 Since the advent of the trust fund, Indians have tended to seek employment only on the reserve. This has been reinforced by the agency policy of discouraging such activities as haying off the reserve. Pressure has undoubtedly been exerted by prejudiced whites who refuse to compete with or hire "lazy Indians whom we support by taxes anyway." In the summer of 1941 because of the war-time demand for workers, Indians were more frequently induced to leave the reserve to obtain work, e.g., in a sugar-beet processing plant. Because of high pay for labour off the reserve, there was an increasing discontent with reserve wage scales, which may swing the trend again towards finding more work off the reserve. In periods of general unemployment there are practically no off-reserve jobs for Indians available.

463 (2) Permanent jobs on the reserve. The following is a list of the
465 permanent Indian jobs on the reserve, with approximate monthly
657 salary schedule for each.

1	Interpreter	$60
2	Scouts for Mounted Police	$30
6	Assistant stock-men	$35
3	Semi-permanent miners (paid 30c per hour)	$35
1	Clerk for mines	$60 (5 months only)
1	Hospital assistant	$30

[1] *Ibid.*

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

A yearly total of $5,880 is paid fourteen Indians for these permanent jobs. The wages for the interpreters and the scouts for the Mounted Police are paid by the Dominion government. The assistant stockmen are paid with funds from the sale of beef. Those connected with the mines are paid from the operating revenue of the mines. The hospital worker alone is paid directly from the trust fund as part of the operating cost of the hospital.

These jobs[A] are filled by application to the person under whose jurisdiction the job falls, e.g., the white stock-man or, at the mines, the Indian "room-boss." With the exception of the hospital assistant these jobs do not require work six days of the week. At the stock-farm, for instance, a man wishing to leave for a few days may give his job to another. This is used as an argument by whites to show that the Indians are lackadaisical. However, the fact that these jobs are seldom open, and that seven of these jobs have been filled by the same Indian for over five years suggests the contrary. Some Indians do work constantly at certain jobs.

(3) Temporary jobs on the reserve are of two kinds: those handled by the agency or the white employees and those directed by the Indians themselves.

Temporary jobs handled by the agency or the white employees are filled by application to or at the request of the director involved. They depend on the season and the exigencies of the moment. They may involve greasing a tractor, painting a building (a man is even paid for painting his own house), mending a road, cleaning a corral or a well, or stopping leaks in a roof. No doubt individual competence and industriousness play a part in securing these jobs. The farm instructor who knows that an Indian is careful and efficient in his work is more apt to employ him than one who is less reliable. Availability is another factor. A man who lived near the stock corral said he never was without a job when he wished one, as the stockman always came to him first when in need of help. The agent, too, occasionally gives a needy Indian a note addressed to a particular white employee asking that he be employed. Consistent with this policy of giving jobs to the needy, some Indians with considerable cash in their accounts at the agency are not employed at the agency-controlled jobs. The agency allocates approximately $7,000 as wages to Indians for temporary jobs. This sum comes from a variety of sources such as deduction from the income from cattle or grain as well as from interest on trust funds.

A [i.e., permanent jobs on the reserve--Analyst]

Part VI

PLANTS USED IN CRAFTS AND FOLKLORE

Overview

824 Blackfoot craft included the use of many plants. Hide tanning, household implements, adornments, dyes, glueing and finishing materials were readily drawn from the botanical world. Certain plants were included in children's games.

Plant lore must have been much more extensive than it is today because informants often recognized plants but were unable to recall their import. [128] The following list illustrates the extent to which plant lore has been retained in memory.

● [463] Though certain people still do some craft, jewelry making, etc. the cultural matrix of plants in craft and folklore has become fragmented beyond recognition. The stories concerning the origin of certain plants are only indicative of a larger body of knowledge which probably included every plant known to the Blackfoot.

[302] [128] The cosmetic uses of plants are included in this section because they are part of the general topic of adornment.

25: Ewers E,G-5 (1941-1951) 1963 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

000 usually were the only ones of their sex who smoked for pleasure.

276 All men and many older women owned pipes. The making of [562] tobacco pipes generally was regarded as a man's craft, although there [463] were a few women among the Blackfoot who were pipemakers. Even [462] in buffalo days pipemaking was a specialized craft. The number [438] of pipemakers in each of the three Blackfoot tribes was small. They [437] supplied their own needs for pipes and made them for gifts to, or [431] barter with, their fellow tribesmen and women. It was not uncom- [435] mon for a pipemaker, in the youth of my informants, to receive a horse, several buffalo robes, or other articles of equivalent value in exchange for a well-made tobacco pipe bowl and stem. Some pipemakers fashioned pipes to order for their Indian customers.

276 In recent years cigarette smoking has largely replaced pipe smoking 177 among the great majority of Blackfoot men and women. Never- 178 less, some of the older people of a high degree of Indian blood still smoke stone pipes for pleasure. And, of course, the pipe remains the traditional smoking equipment in Blackfoot ceremonies.

[431] Although the demand for pipes has decreased materially within the present century, there were still more than a dozen pipemakers living on the Blackfoot Reservation in Montana and the Blood Reserve in Alberta in the decade of the 1940's, several of whom still [438] made pipes as gifts to other Indians or to Whites. Very few pipes were made for sale.

178 Time has dealt rather harshly with the traditional men's handi- 463 crafts of the Blackfoot. In the 1940's there probably were as many [462] pipemakers among the Blackfoot as there were makers of feather bonnets, drums, or other men's handicrafts. However, all the known pipemakers were elderly or middle-aged Indians, and unless some of the younger people take an active interest in pipemaking, this age-old craft will disappear from the Blackfoot Indians.

PIPE BOWL TYPES

THE STRAIGHT PIPE

323 When Clark Wissler investigated Blackfoot material culture in 276 the field during the first decade of the present century, he found that "some old people stated that according to tradition, stone pipe bowls were not made before the introduction of iron tools. Blocks of hard tough clay were cut into the form of a pipe bowl, rubbed with grease, and hardened over the fire and by use." Wissler was dubious of this explanation. "This is an agreement with the traditions concerning pottery but seems unlikely" (Wissler, 1910, p. 83).